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# Message Text

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NASA-01 NEA-11 NSAE-00 SP-02 PA-01 DOE-15 CEQ-01
OES-07 SS-15 NSCE-00 SSO-00 ICAE-00 INRE-00 /142 W
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O 031510Z JUN 78
FM AMEMBASSY MOSCOW
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 2552
INFO AMEMBASSY BONN
USMISSION GENEVA
AMEMBASSY LONDON
AMEMBASSY PARIS
USMISSION USNATO

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 01 OF 03 MOSCOW 12557

USSALTTWO

E.O. 11652: GDS
TAGS: PARM, SOPN, UR, US, SALT
SUBJECT: GROMYKO PRESS CONFERENCE ON SOVIET TELEVISION

SUMMARY: GROMYKO'S PRESS CONFERENCE, CARRIED ON SOVIET TELEVISION EVENING OF JUNE 2, WAS A SKILLFUL PRESENTATION OF MOSCOW'S ASSESSMENT OF MAJOR ELEMENTS IN SOVIET-U.S. RELATIONS. SPEAKING WITHOUT NOTES IN WHAT WAS CLEARLY THE SOVIET LEADERSHIP'S DETAILED RESPONSE TO RECENT ADMINISTRATION STATEMENTS GROMYKO CAREFULLY AND CONFIDENTLY REVIEWED EAST-WEST RELATIONS IN TERMS OF SOVIET STEADFASTNESS AND U.S. INCONSISTENCY, VACILATION, AND UNWILLINGENSS TO WORK SERIOUSLY FOR DETENTE OR THE CONCLUSION OF SALT-II. IN DISCUSSING DISARMAMENT, AFRICA, AND SOVIET-U.S. RELATIONS, GROMYKO MADE FULL USE OF HIS AMPLE INTELLECTUAL GIFTS AND FORESENSIC SKILLS TO DEMONSTRATE HIS ABILITY TO SPEAK
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DEFINITIVELY ON MAJOR FOREIGN POLICY ISSUES. PRAVDA AND SHORT TASS ENGLISH SUMMARIES FAIL TO CONVEY THE FULL SHARPENSS OF GROMYKO'S REMARKS. END SUMMARY.

1. BEGIN UNCLASSIFIED. GROMYKO WAS ASKED THREE QUESTIONS BY HIS INTERVIEWER (VALENTIN ZORIN) ON SSOD, AFRICA, AND HIS RECENT TALKS WITH THE PRESIDENT AND

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SECRETARY VANCE. GROMYKO SPENT A GREAT DEAL OF TIME ASSURING HIS LISTENERS THAT SOVIET PROPOSALS AT THE SSOD CUT TO THE HEART OF THE DISARMAMENT PROBLEM AND WERE VERY WELL RECEIVED AT THE SSOD. ON SPECIFIC ISSUES HE:

--SARDONICALLY NOTED THE CONCURRENT NATO MEETING IN WASHINGTON, STATING THAT IT HAD NOTHING TO DO WITH DISARMAMENT;

--DERIDED THE EMPHASIS IN VICE PRESIDENT MONDALE'S SPEECH ON ARMS CONTROL, WHICH HE CONTRASTED WITH THE SOVIET PROPOSALS FOR DISARMAMENT;

--HAD MUTED PRAISE FOR SOME OF THE SPEECHES AT THE SSOD, SINGLING OUT THOSE OF"THE FRENCH PRESIDENT", CERTAIN OF WHOSE PROPOSALS HE SAID "DESERVE ATTENTION." HE ALSO SAID THAT FRB CHANCELLOR SCHMIDT EXPRESSED "INTERESTING THOUGHTS" ON DISARMAMENT AND SPOKE WITH A "CORRECT ORIENTATION" ON EAST-WEST RELATIONS.

2. ON AFRICA, GROMYKO REFUTED ACCUSATIONS SOME OF WHICH HAVE NOT BEEN MADE, AND SKILLFULLY AVOIDED ADDRESSING QUESTIONS WHICH HAVE BEEN RAISED IN THE WEST. SPECIFICALLY, HE CLAIMED THAT:

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--THE "BOURGEOIS PROPAGANDA CAMPAIGN" CONCERNING AFRICA IS A "WELL THOUGHT OUT SYSTEM OF MEASURES" TO AGGRAVATE THE SITUATION IN THE SSOD AND IN SOVIET-U.S. RELATIONS AND ALSO TO "WORSEN THE ATMOSPHERE" IN THE WORLD AS A WHOLE;

--THE SOVIET UNION AND CUBA HAVE BEEN ACCUSED OF THINGS WITH WHICH THEY HAVE HAD NOTHING TO DO;

--THESE CHARGES HAVE BEEN MADE BY EXPERIENCED POLITICAL FIGURES WHO KNOW BETTER AND WHO ARE MAKING THESE CHARGES IN ORDER TO HIDE THEIR EFFORTS TO STEP UP THE ARMS RACE, IN ORDER TO CREATE "AN ARTIFICIAL SCREEN" BEHIND WHICH TO COVER THEIR ACTIONS;

--ONLY SOVIET ARMS AID HAS GONE TO ETHIOPIA, AND THERE IS NOT A "SINGLE SOVIET SOLDIER WITH A RIFLE" IN ETHIOPIA;

--NOT A SINGLE SOVIET INDIVIDUAL HAS HAD ANYTHING TO DO WITH EVENTS IN ZAIRE, WHERE THE SOVIET UNION HAS ONLY OFFICIAL DIPLOMATIC REPRESENTATIVES.

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THUS, MOSCOW CANNOT BE BLAMED FOR THE KILLINGS AND
OTHER EVENTS WHICH HAVE RECENTLY TAKEN PLACE IN ZAIRE.

3. IN ANSWER TO A QUESTION ON SOVIET-U.S. RELATIONS
AND ON HIS RECENT CONVERSATIONS WITH U.S. LEADERS,
GROMYKO SAID THAT:

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OES-07 SS-15 NSCE-00 SSO-00 ICAE-00 INRE-00 /142 W
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--THE MAIN QUESTION IS THAT OF THE BANNING AND
LIQUIDATION OF NUCLEAR WEAPONS. GROMYKO CLAIMED THAT
THERE WAS NOT A GREAT DEAL OF INTEREST SHOWN BY THE
U.S. SIDE IN DISCUSSING THIS QUESTION;

--SALT WAS DISCUSSED IN DETAIL. MOST OF THE MAJOR
QUESTIONS HAVE BEEN SETTLED BUT TWO OR THREE QUESTIONS
REMAIN OUTSTANDING. THESE QUESTIONS, GROMYKO SUGGESTED
IN A SOMEWHAT OBSCURE PASSAGE, COULD BE DIVIDED INTO
SEVERAL SUB-QUESTIONS, PARTS OF WHICH COULD ALREADY
BE SETTLED BUT, BECAUSE OF AREAS OF DISAGREEMENT,
THE OVERALL (TWO OR THREE) QUESTIONS, CANNOT BE SAID
TO BE SETTLED.

--BECAUSE OF THE UNRESOLVED ISSUES, MORE
MEETINGS WILL BE REQUIRED. CLEARLY IMPLYING THAT
WASHINGTON WAS TO BLAME FOR THE FAILURE THUS FAR TO

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REACH AN AGREEMENT, GROMYKO SAID THAT PERHAPS THE
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U.S. KNEW BETTER THAN THE USSR HOW MANY MORE MEETINGS
WILL BE NEEDED.

--THE SOVIET UNION HAS DONE EVERYTHING POSSIBLE
TO REACH A SPEEDY CONCLUSION TO THE TALKS, BUT DOES
NOT SEE A SIMILAR INTENTION ON THE PART OF THE U.S.;

--THE ATMOSPHERE IN THE U.S. IS BECOMING MORE
COMPLICATED INTER ALIA BY CHARGES CONCERNING AFRICA.
THIS DOES NOT CREATE THE NECESSARY SITUATION FOR A
RAPID CONCLUSION OF SALT;

--THE SOVIET UNION HAS TOLD THE U.S.
ADMINISTRATION THAT IT OFTEN SPEAKS WITH "A WEAK VOICE"
IN SUPPORT OF A SALT AGREEMENT. IF THE ADMINIS-
TRATION IS SERIOUS IN ITS STATEMENTS IN FAVOR OF SALT,
IT MUST RESOLUTELY REBUFF THE OPPONENTS OF AN AGREEMENT
AND IT MUST CREATE A FAVORABLE ATMOSPHERE FOR AN
AGREEMENT. TENSION CREATED IN SOVIET-U.S. RELATIONS
AND OVER AFRICAN QUESTIONS MERELY PLAYS INTO THE HANDS
OF SALT OPPONENTS;

--IN THE WORLD THERE ARE SOME, BOTH IN THE WEST AND
IN THE EAST, WHO "FALL INTO A FAINT" OVER THE WORD
DISARMAMENT, AND "WE KNOW WHO THEY ARE";

--THE ADMINISTRATION SEEMS TO BE RETURNING TO THE
COLD WAR OR TO SOMETHING SIMILAR TO IT. PREVIOUS
PRESIDENTS HAVE BEEN ABLE TO "FIND A COMMON LANGUAGE"
WITH THE SOVIET UNION AND WHY CANNOT THIS BE DONE
TODAY?

--THE DISCUSSIONS IN THE U.S. WERE, AS THE U.S.
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SIDE SAYS, "USEFUL" AND "NECESSARY," BUT THE USSR
HAD EXPECTED MORE FROM THEM: IT TAKES TWO TO CARRY
NEGOTIATIONS TO A SUCCESSFUL CONCLUSION AND, AS IT
IS, MUCH WORK REMAINS TO BE DONE. END UNCLASSIFIED.

4. COMMENT: FOLLOWING BREZHNEV'S RECENT BRIEF
COMMENTS IN PRAGUE ON THESE SAME ISSUES, IT APPEARS
THAT GROMYKO WAS TAGGED TO GIVE THE DEFINITIVE

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RESPONSE TO THE REMARKS OF THE PRESIDENT, SECRETARY VANCE AND DR. BRZEZINSKI ON SOVIET ACTIVITY IN AFRICA AND OTHER ISSUES. GROMYKO HAS ALREADY DEMONSTRATED THAT HE IS A MASTER OF THE BARBED STATEMENT AND OF THE INVIDIOUS INNUENDO. IN THIS INTERVIEW HE SOUGHT TO SHUFFLE ALL BLAME FOR DETERIORATING SOVIET-U.S. RELATIONS ONTO THE U.S. AND TO FOSTER THE IMPRESSION OF A SOBER, RESPONSIBLE, AND STATESMANLIKE SOVIET LEADERSHIP ANXIOUSLY VIEWING THE WORSENING POLITICAL SITUATION IN THE U.S. THUS, GROMYKO PAINTS A PICTURE OF SOVIET EFFORTS TO SPUR THE US TO REACH A SALT II AGREEMENT, AND TO PREVENT EXTRANEOUS ISSUES SUCH AS AFRICA FROM BLOCKING THE CONCLUSION OF AN AGREEMENT IMPORTANT TO THE WHOLE WORLD. HIS PORTRAYAL OF A WEAK U.S. ADMINISTRATION IS DISTURBING, ALL THE MORE SO AS THIS REVIVED THEME POSSIBLY REPRESENTS THE VIEW OF THE U.S. CURRENTLY HELD IN THE KREMLIN.

5. PRAVDA HAS PUBLISHED A SUMMARY OF GROMYKO'S REMARKS WHICH CONVEYS THEIR SUBSTANCE BUT WHICH ALSO TONES DOWN THE ACERBITY OF SOME OF GROMYKO'S COMMENTS. THE PRINTED WORD, OF COURSE, CANNOT CONVEY GROMYKO'S

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SKILLFUL USE OF THE FORMAT OF A TELEVISION INTERVIEW. GROMYKO'S USE OF HIS HANDS, EYES, BODY MOVEMENTS,

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AND VOICE MODULATION CONVEYS A POWERFUL IMPRESSION ON THE TV SCREEN AND REINFORCES THE POINTS HE SOUGHT TO MAKE. THE OVERALL IMAGE IS THAT OF SELF-CONFIDENCE, TOTAL COMMAND OF THE ISSUES, AND OF FULL MASTERY OF THE INSTRUMENTS OF POWER AT GROMYKO'S DISPOSAL, AND AS SUCH REPRESENTS A TOUR DE FORCE WHICH STANDS IN MARKED CONTRAST TO BREZHNEV'S RECENT LABORED EFFORTS WITH THE SPOKEN WORD. MATLOCK

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# Message Attributes

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**Concepts:** FOREIGN RELATIONS, PRESS CONFERENCES, TELEVISION BROADCASTING
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**Decaption Date:** 01 jan 1960
**Decaption Note:**
**Disposition Action:** RELEASED
**Disposition Approved on Date:**
**Disposition Case Number:** n/a
**Disposition Comment:** 25 YEAR REVIEW
**Disposition Date:** 20 Mar 2014
**Disposition Event:**
**Disposition History:** n/a
**Disposition Reason:**
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**Enclosure:** n/a
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**Status:** NATIVE
**Subject:** GROMYKO PRESS CONFERENCE ON SOVIET TELEVISION SUMMARY: GROMYKO\'S PRESS CONFERENCE, CARRIED ON SOVIET TELEVISION EVENING OF JUNE 2, WAS A SKILLFUL PR ESE
**TAGS:** PARM, SOPN, UR, US, (GROMYKO, ANDREY ANDREYEVICH)
**To:** STATE USSALTTWO
**Type:** TE
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